



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

Edinburgh Research Explorer

'Picturing the Highlands: Rosa Bonheur's Grand Tour of Scotland'

Citation for published version:

Fowle, F 2013, 'Picturing the Highlands: Rosa Bonheur's Grand Tour of Scotland'. in *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*. vol. 18, pp. 40-48, Palaces, Patrons and Places: the Allure of Scotland for French Artists, 1790-1900, Edinburgh, United Kingdom, 17/11/12.

Link:

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

Document Version:

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Published In:

Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History

Publisher Rights Statement:

© Fowle, F. (2013). 'Picturing the Highlands: Rosa Bonheur's Grand Tour of Scotland'. In Journal of Scottish Society for Art History.

General rights

Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Edinburgh Research Explorer is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy

The University of Edinburgh has made every reasonable effort to ensure that Edinburgh Research Explorer content complies with UK legislation. If you believe that the public display of this file breaches copyright please contact openaccess@ed.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



Picturing the Highlands: Rosa Bonheur's Grand Tour of Scotland

Frances Fowle

On Monday 16 July 1855 the French artist Rosa Bonheur arrived in London on a day of pouring rain, thunder and lightning. She had been invited by the English art dealer Ernest Gambart, who had newly acquired her *magnum opus*, *The Horse Fair* (Fig.1), which she accompanied across the English Channel. Known as the 'French Landseer', Bonheur had already established a reputation in her own country as one of the greatest animal painters of her generation,¹ but her work was still relatively

and how successful was Gambart in his promotion of Bonheur and her work in Scotland; and second, how crucial was Scotland's role in providing new subjects and a wider circle of clients for the artist? In an attempt to answer these questions I will examine Gambart's strategy with regard not only to *The Horse Fair* and its tour of Britain, but also to Bonheur's journey to the Highlands and the commercialisation of her art through the publication of prints.³



1. Rosa Bonheur, *The Horse Fair*, 1853–5. Oil on canvas.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

unknown outside France, and Gambart, anticipating her popularity in Landseer's home country, was determined to corner the market for her work in Britain.

In his biography of the art dealer, Jeremy Maas observed: 'It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that Rosa Bonheur and her legend were Gambart's creation.'² But Bonheur was far from being the dealer's pawn and I will argue that she was cultivated by Gambart to their mutual benefit. In 1856 Gambart accompanied her on a tour of Scotland, which he organised and financed. As we shall see, Scotland played an important role, not only in providing inspiration for her paintings, but also in raising her profile outside France – and in producing a small coterie of independent British dealers interested in promoting her work.

The purpose of this essay is to explore two main questions: first, how strategic

Rosa Bonheur's first trip to England and *The Horse Fair's* tour of Britain

In 1853 *The Horse Fair* was exhibited to great acclaim at the Paris Salon. It then toured to Ghent and Bordeaux and was on sale for 12,000 francs. Bonheur's first choice was for the picture to remain in France and, when Gambart showed an interest in buying, she refused to sell it for less than 40,000 francs, the equivalent of around £100,000 today. Gambart was prepared to pay such a relatively large sum, since his purchase included an engraver's copy – a smaller replica, now in the National Gallery, London – which was begun by Bonheur's companion and assistant Nathalie Micas and completed and signed by the artist. This copy meant that Gambart had the potential to produce a print, which would not only provide him with royalties but also disseminate Bonheur's name more widely.

The Horse Fair is a large painting – it measures 244.5 cm x 506.7 cm out of its frame – and Gambart saw in this impressive work the perfect marketing opportunity. In July 1855 he persuaded Bonheur to accompany the painting on its voyage to London, and as an incentive he arranged for her to meet Sir Edwin Landseer, whom she held in high esteem.⁴ On the evening of her arrival she was invited to a dinner, hosted by Sir Charles Eastlake, where Landseer was present. According to Lady Eastlake, Landseer took to the French artist immediately and was ‘full of impudence’. He even sent her a proposal of marriage, asserting that he would be only ‘too happy to become Sir Edwin Bonheur’.⁵ Two days later, on 18 July, Lady Eastlake took Bonheur to Landseer’s studio and recorded in her journal that the artist was ‘in a state of quiet ecstasy’ at the sight of Landseer’s paintings, ‘studies without end of deer, horses, Highlanders, tops of Scotch mountains, etc’.⁶ This experience almost certainly opened Bonheur’s eyes to the potential of Highland subject matter and may have given her the idea of returning to Britain for a second trip.

Meanwhile, *The Horse Fair* remained on show throughout August at Gambart’s galleries at 20–21 Pall Mall.⁷ There was wide press coverage, since the combination of the sheer scale of the work and the fact that it had been painted by a woman was a source of constant curiosity. According to the critic John Forbes-Robertson, ‘the artists and connoisseurs of this country could scarcely realise the fact that they were looking on the work of a woman’ and as a consequence, despite the one shilling admission fee, the gallery ‘was crowded daily for months’.⁸

On 6 September 1855 the painting embarked on a carefully orchestrated tour of the major towns and cities of Britain, beginning with Glasgow.⁹ Gambart chose this first venue carefully, since Glasgow was then the fastest growing industrial city in Britain, offering a rich seam of potential buyers. The picture was exhibited at Finlay’s ‘Fine Art Gallery’ at 119 St Vincent Street from 12 September for over four months. On 11 September Finlay arranged a private view, to which he invited a selection of prospective buyers.¹⁰ Like Gambart, he saw the potential for selling the print, and the following month the local press announced the forthcoming engraving by Thomas Landseer.¹¹

In February 1856 the painting continued on to Liverpool; and thereafter to Manchester and Birmingham. In December it travelled north again, this time to Edinburgh, and

was on view at Alexander Hill’s Gallery at 67 Princes Street until 10 January 1857, before moving back to Finlay’s galleries in Glasgow, where it was on show until 24 January.¹² The painting then travelled to James Gilbert’s gallery in Sheffield (15 March – 4 April 1857), before returning to London.¹³ *The Horse Fair*’s grand tour had the effect of considerably raising Bonheur’s profile in Britain, and it is significant that during its 18-month tour of Britain the painting spent a good six months in Scotland, and that it returned to Glasgow for a second showing.¹⁴ It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that during this period the artist herself chose to travel to the land of Sir Walter Scott.

The tour of the Highlands

While *The Horse Fair* was on the Birmingham stage of its tour, Gambart invited Bonheur for a second, more extended stay in Britain. Her arrival was carefully timed: on 21 July 1856 the dealer announced the publication of Thomas Landseer’s engraving after the replica, which he dedicated to Queen Victoria. In the same year Gambart & Co. published F. Lepelle de Boise-Gallais’s *Biography of Rosa Bonheur*, which had been translated into English by James Parry and included an appendix of newspaper reviews, illustrating the enthusiastic reception that the painting had received in London the previous year from the English press.

Accounts of this second trip and Bonheur’s subsequent tour of Scotland vary in the precise details of the itinerary. The following account of the route draws on several sources: Gambart’s own memoir; the artist Frederick Goodall’s personal *Reminiscences* (1902); the 1908 biography by Anna Klumpke (Rosa Bonheur’s lover and constant companion from 1889 until her death); and Theodore Stanton’s 1910 *Reminiscences*; as well as letters from Bonheur to her brother and from Nathalie Micas to her mother.¹⁵

According to Klumpke, it was Bonheur’s ‘passion for unspoiled nature’ and ‘weakness for Walter Scott’ that motivated her to undertake the second long voyage to Britain.¹⁶ Stanton, too, recalls that as a young girl Bonheur produced ‘a mass of drawings based on the tales of Walter Scott’ and that ‘it was this early passion for the great novelist that had much to do with pushing her steps to North Britain’.¹⁷ Like most foreign visitors of this period, her highly romanticised vision of Scotland was coloured by Scott, whose

2. Frederick Goodall, *Rosa Bonheur Painting in the Scottish Highlands* 1856–8. Oil on panel.

Indiana University Art Museum, Morton and Marie Bradley Memorial Collection, 98.170



novels and poetry were widely read in France. In particular Scott's novels *Rob Roy* and *Waverley* and his poems *The Lady of the Lake* and *The Gathering of the Clan Gregor* had popularised areas such as Loch Lomond and Loch Katrine; while his *Lord of the Isles* had inspired trips up the west coast between Arran and Skye. Such literary associations were highlighted in contemporary guides and picturesque accounts such as Amedée Pichot's *Vues Pittoresques de l'Écosse*, first published in 1826 and Black's *Picturesque Tourist of Scotland* of 1841 (not to mention Scott's own two-volume *History of Scotland*, translated by Defauconpret in 1835). With the advent of the paddle steamer and the train, it was now possible to reach these remote spots with relative ease. Indeed, in the 1840s Thomas Cook had even begun to organise special tours of Scotland.¹⁸ Queen Victoria also played an important role in the romanticisation of the Scottish Highlands. She paid her first visit to the Highlands in September 1847, when she and Albert stayed at Ardverikie on Loch Laggan. September was the stalking season and she commissioned Landseer, with his skill at drawing animals, to record these early sojourns.

Bonheur and Micas arrived at Dover in early August 1856. Since they spoke no English, Gambart accompanied them on the entire trip. They spent a few days at Gambart's home at Wexham, near Windsor, before travelling by train to Birmingham to see *The Horse Fair*. The following day they left for Liverpool, travelling via Manchester, where Goodall, one of Gambart's protégés,

joined the party. They then took the steamer from Liverpool to Glasgow via Greenock. In Glasgow they were joined by another artist, Daniel Maclise, whose lithograph of Sir Walter Scott was well known.¹⁹ The party was taken on a tour of an iron foundry, and it seems very likely that they also visited Finlay's galleries in St Vincent Street.

Whereas in the first four decades of the century the most common route north was from Edinburgh to Perth, Stirling and the Trossachs, by the 1850s, partly due to the expansion of the railways, it was much more usual for tourists to go directly to Glasgow and then sail up to the Highlands and islands.²⁰ The group appears to have followed this route, travelling by boat from Greenock to Dunoon and then by carriage via Loch Eck and Inverary Castle, another popular tourist site, to Oban. From Oban they took the steamer through Loch Linnhe to Ballachullish, on the shores of Loch Leven. According to Klumpke, they spent over two weeks at Ballachullish, staying in a small hotel 'wedged between the sea and the mountains'.²¹ They evidently chose this area partly for its historical associations but mainly because the Pass of Glencoe, as a drove road, offered the opportunity for Bonheur to sketch the sheep and Highland cattle. On 28 August Micas wrote to her mother, 'Rosa has finally got down to work, and she's moving along on three beautiful studies ... It is very hard to find a boy to carry Rosa's box. Often this good M. Gambart loads himself up like a veritable beast of burden.'²²

According to contemporary accounts, Bonheur, who was well known for her eccentric, manly appearance, sketched in trousers, climbed mountains and even went shooting with Gambart. Goodall's painting of her sketching in the Highlands (Fig.2) gives a very different impression. Goodall insisted on Bonheur's femininity, remarking, 'It was the opinion of many people who had never seen her that she was a masculine woman. I can say with truth that she was quite the reverse. Her hands and feet were *petites*; her face was not strictly beautiful or fine, or handsome; but her expression was so vivacious and intelligent that I thought her charming.'²³ On the other hand, we know that the painting was not actually executed in Glencoe, but at the end of the tour, at Gambart's house at Wexham.

From Glencoe the party travelled south via the Trossachs, another popular tourist destination. They took time to visit John Everett Millais, who was staying at the manse at Brig O' Turk with Effie Ruskin, whom he had married the previous year, and William Morris – who, much to Bonheur's delight, appeared at dinner wearing a kilt. They also visited Loch Katrine, the inspiration for Scott's *The Lady of the Lake*. From there they continued on to the north shore of Loch Lomond and stayed in a small inn at Glenfalloch. Scott had stayed here in 1817 while researching Rob Roy and the area was extremely popular with visitors eager to climb Ben Lomond or to discover the cave where Rob Roy sheltered. From Glen Falloch the party sailed down the loch to Dumbarton, from where they took the train to Falkirk, arriving in the first week of September. Here they were welcomed by William Wilson (1813–96), art collector, antiquary and friend of Gambart. Wilson lived at Banknock House, Denny and was coalmaster of the Banknock Coal Company.²⁴ A keen art collector and supporter of the arts, he was the owner of Bonheur's *The Chalk Waggoner of Limousin* (engraved by Edward Goodall) which he had acquired from an exhibition at Gambart's galleries the previous year, 1855.

Gambart had arranged for Wilson to accompany the party to the Falkirk Tryst, the largest site in Britain for the sale of cattle, sheep and horses. This provided another major incentive for Bonheur, since it offered an opportunity to acquire animals for her already expanding menagerie of models.²⁵ The Falkirk Tryst provided a meeting point for livestock sellers from the Highlands and their

lowland buyers. There were even special sailings from Port Dundas via the Forth and Clyde and Union Canals. The sales usually took place over three days and were held three times a year: in the second week of August, September and October. At their height they were a sensational sight, with up to 150,000 cattle, sheep and horses arriving from all over Scotland with their drovers and their dogs, who slept in the open air or in makeshift bivouacs.

The fair was not due to open until Monday 8 September, so the party spent the weekend in Edinburgh, which Bonheur described as 'a most picturesque town where it rains too often'.²⁶ The weather hampered any attempt to visit the sites: on the Saturday they sailed from Leith towards the Bass Rock, but the weather was so atrocious that they were forced to land on Inchkeith. The following day Micas wrote to her mother from Edinburgh, 'It's pouring outside and in this country the Lord's day is so thoroughly sanctified that there's not a single soul in the streets and you can't even visit the castle.'²⁷

On the Monday and Tuesday, Wilson drove Bonheur and Gambart from his house in Denny to the Falkirk Tryst. Gambart had ensured that Bonheur's presence in Scotland was widely publicised and the party received a tumultuous reception. Micas wrote to her mother from Banknock, 'You can't take a single step without the entire English press knowing the next day what you did and said ... Everyone knows that Rosa is going to the Falkirk Fair ... she is followed or escorted by two hundred people.'²⁸

Bonheur was in her element and, as Goodall recalled, she 'went among the animals with their great horns without the slightest fear, just as the drovers did, pushing the beasts on one side if she wanted to pass'.²⁹ There are varying accounts of the purchases that Bonheur made at the fair.³⁰ Klumpke records that she bought seven oxen and five sheep, but 'the drover, eager to separate [the oxen] from the rest of the herd began hitting them. A great commotion ensued. The oxen threw themselves down on the sheep and crushed the life out of them.'³¹ This event appears to have been the inspiration for one of Bonheur's later works *The Stampede (Bousculade de boeufs écossais)* (Private Collection), which was exhibited at the Salon of 1867.³²

Bonheur was also presented with a short-horn bull as a gift from William Wilson. The same bull features in the official portrait of Bonheur, painted in 1857 by Edouard Dubufe



3. Edouard Dubufe, *Portrait of Rosa Bonheur with Bull*, 1857. Oil on canvas.

Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon

(Fig.3). This painting was later exhibited at Alexander Hill's gallery in Edinburgh in March 1859, when the critic for the *Scotsman* reported: 'The portrait of Rosa Bonheur is charmingly painted. She leans on a Scottish shorthorn presented to her by Mr Wilson of Banknock, which has become so attached to Mlle Bonheur that it follows her about, and takes bread from her hand', adding, 'The portrait of the animal was put in by its mistress, and is full of character.'³³

Following the Falkirk Fair, the party returned to the west coast intending to sail up the coast to Skye, but it was too late in the season and instead they took a steamer down the Firth of Clyde to Arran, where they spent several days.³⁴ On her return to France Bonheur wrote to her brother Auguste: 'Here I am back from my gad about the Highlands. For just a month we have been climbing mountains and crossing waters without resting ... I have seen all the places Walter Scott has chosen for the characters he has created, especially those of the 'Legend of Montrose', which I have just been reading.'³⁵

Rosa Bonheur's Scottish pictures and patrons

While Gambart clearly regarded the Highland tour as an opportunity to market the Rosa Bonheur 'brand' and to furnish the artist with new subject matter, Bonheur appears to have devoted more of her time to sightseeing than to filling her sketchbook. She did not produce a large number of drawings on the trip, but the few she did bring back provided a starting point for some of her most important works; and she continued to draw on these studies for the next ten years.

According to Gambart, two sketches of Highland cattle that Bonheur encountered on the road to Oban became the basis for two of her earliest successes, *Morning in the Highlands*, 1857 (Untraced) and *Denizens of the Highlands* (Kenwood House, Iveagh Bequest), which was exhibited in Brussels in 1858.³⁶ From 1857 until 1868 she painted on average at least one Scottish subject a year, culminating in a minor retrospective at the Salon of 1867, when she exhibited five Scottish works: *The Highland Shepherd* (1859), *A Highland Raid* (1860), *Ponies of Skye* (1861), *Changing Pasture* (1863) and *Oxen and Cows* (1867).³⁷ After 1868 Scottish subjects largely disappeared from her oeuvre until the early 1890s, when she produced three such works in consecutive years.

Several of these Scottish works reveal the extent to which Bonheur combined a Romantic notion of Scotland, largely inspired by Scott, with the direct representation of nature. The influence of Scott on Bonheur was often remarked by the British press. For example, when *A Highland Raid* (Fig.4) was shown at the German Gallery in Bond Street in 1860, the critic for the *Athenaeum* wrote as follows:

The scene is the margin of Loch Etive, near to Ballacullish [sic] – the treeless waste, thickly overgrown with heather, rough with broken rocks, closed behind by mountain sides that the mists cling to, and all overswept by a fierce wind whistling through the stiff stalks of the herbage, and hiding the glittering lake in the grey clouds it bears along, is exactly that which is suggested to us by one of Sir Walter Scott's vivid descriptions of the reiving habits of the Highlanders in the middle of the last century. We believe it was the account given of the spoliation of the Baron of Bradwardine [from the novel *Waverley*] that gave this subject to Mlle Bonheur.³⁸

The same critic noted that the 'large yellow bull with the head up, red eyes of angry suspicion and tossing horns, is the well-reputed 'Prince Albert', an animal purchased by the French Emperor and now resident at Versailles'.³⁹ This combination of natural detail and Romantic association appealed to critics and collectors alike, and when *A Highland Raid* was shown at Finlay's Gallery in Glasgow later that year it soon found a buyer. On sale at 2,000 guineas, it was acquired by John Graham of the Glasgow merchants William Graham & Co.⁴⁰

But what of Gambart? Did his strategy with regard to Bonheur pay off? It is fair to say that Gambart made a huge personal profit from the promotion of Bonheur's pictures, but not initially from sales of the paintings themselves. *The Horse Fair*, which he had acquired for 40,000 francs in 1855, was sold for only 30,000 francs to William P. Wright of Weehawken, New Jersey. On the other hand, at this date Gambart earned a far greater income from the publication and sale of prints.

Until 1855 most of Bonheur's prints were published by Goupil,⁴¹ but in 1856 Gambart acquired the rights to *The Horse Fair* and he also asked Goodall to produce a print of the *Chalk Waggon of Limousin*, the picture acquired by Wilson. The publicity generated by the tour of *The Horse Fair* boosted print

sales and in January 1857 the critic for the *Glasgow Herald* noted that: 'During the last twelve months lithographed copies of many of ...[Bonheur's] pictures have found their way to the printshops of this country'.⁴² Similarly, in June 1860, the critic for the *Athenaeum* observed that *A Highland Raid* was to be engraved, and that this would 'extend the artist's reputation greatly'.⁴³

Significantly, the majority of works engraved in Britain were of Scottish subjects and by 1875 Bonheur's most important Scottish paintings were all available as prints. These included *Morning in the Highlands*, engraved by Charles G. Lewis in 1857; *Denizens of the Highlands*, produced by Thomas Landseer in 1860, with a smaller version by Lewis; and *A Highland Shepherd*, engraved in 1861 by Lewis, who also produced *A Highland Raid* (with a smaller version by Charles Mottram) in 1862. There followed a thirteen year gap in production, when only one print was produced, in 1867, when H.T. Ryall engraved *Changing Pasture* (one of the pictures exhibited at the Paris Salon). Then, in 1875, Thomas Landseer engraved *A Stampede* and Mottram *The Straits of Ballachulish*. Despite the decline in production, the prints continued to sell and in 1882 the *Magazine of Art* commented that 'so popular are the themes handled by Rosa Bonheur, that most of them are engraved in two sizes'.⁴⁴

4. Rosa Bonheur, *A Highland Raid*, 1860. Oil on canvas.

National Museum of Women in the Arts. Gift of Wallace and Wilhelmina Holladay



The boom in the print trade helped to boost sales of her work not only in England but also north of the border, where her work was shown on a regular basis at the Royal Scottish Academy and from 1861 at the Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts. Bonheur's principal dealers in Scotland were Finlay's Fine Art in Glasgow and in Edinburgh Alexander Hill, who claimed to be Scotland's main printseller and publisher of engravings. From 1855 onwards these two dealers regularly exhibited examples of Bonheur's work and also announced the recent or impending publication of prints. When Hill died in 1866 his obituary noted that 'Mr Hill has been the means of introducing to the Scottish public some of the best works of English and Foreign artists, as ... Landseer, Millais, ...[and] Rosa Bonheur.'⁴⁵

Prior to her grand tour of the Highlands, the only Scottish patrons of Bonheur's work, apart from William Wilson, were John Miller – who had a house on Bute, but whose business, Miller, Houghton & Co., was based in Liverpool – and the Edinburgh-based organist and composer Charles J. Hargitt who owned *Landscape with Cattle*, a joint work by Rosa and Auguste Bonheur. Over the course of the next two decades, however, she established a following among Scotland's wealthy industrialists, beginning with James Tennant Caird, a shipbuilder

had expanded to include collectors such as Thomas and James Houldsworth;⁴⁷ John Glas Sandeman;⁴⁸ the Glasgow draper Alexander Bannatyne Stewart; and James Duncan of Benmore, who, with his sister, owned several works, including *Fair Donald* and *Sheep*, which is probably the work now in the Dahesh Museum, New York.⁴⁹

Why did these Glasgow merchants and industrialists buy Bonheur's work? Was it the Romantic sense of Scottish identity that was a feature of so many of her paintings? Was it the association with Landseer, coupled with the fact that she painted animals with detailed but not fussy or sentimental naturalism? It may even have helped that Bonheur was a curiosity as an artist: a woman who smoked, wore short cropped hair and strode around in men's breeches.

Bonheur's fame reached its peak in 1865 when she was awarded the Légion d'Honneur, the first woman ever to receive this accolade – and it is reasonable to conclude that Gambart and Scotland played an important role in raising her profile and ultimately making this possible. By the 1870s her reputation was also established in Britain, and more particularly Scotland. In 1878 five of her pictures were exhibited at a special loan exhibition in Glasgow, providing clear evidence that her work had been assimilated into several Scottish collections.⁵⁰ With the aid of dealers such as Finlay, Gambart had succeeded in tapping into the rich seam of Scottish industrialists on the West Coast of Scotland. Furthermore, he had established an extremely healthy trade in prints, which, as he predicted, had the dual effect of raising the artist's profile, and increasing the value of her paintings. Between 1854 and 1868 Gambart bought 21 major works from the artist which were resold between 1875 and 1900 for nearly four times their original price.⁵¹

Gambart's strategy paid off, but Bonheur also benefited. As a result of her trip to the Highlands she was furnished with a new repertoire of subjects, and, thanks to the dissemination of her prints by Finlay and Hill, her fame in Scotland was widespread. In addition she made close friendships with several Scottish collectors, among them William Wilson of Banknock, John Graham of Skelmorlie and James Duncan of Benmore, with whom she stayed on a third, private trip to Scotland in 1878. It appears she may even have contemplated moving to Scotland, since on 28 February 1876 an announcement in the *Glasgow Herald* denied rumours to



5. Rosa Bonheur, *Ploughing Scene (The Plough)*, 1854.

Oil on canvas.

Walters Art Gallery,
Baltimore

from Greenock, who lent *The Plough* (Fig.5) to the RSA in 1859. This picture had been included in Gambart's 'French exhibition' in London in 1858, where it was commented on by Ruskin, who criticised Bonheur for hiding the face of the ploughman.⁴⁶ In the 1860s John Graham and the Paisley textile manufacturer Thomas Coats of Ferguslie lent works to the new Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts, and by the following decade, with the growth in the number of art dealers operating in Glasgow, her circle of admirers

this effect.⁵² Unquestionably, Scotland was extremely important to her ultimate success, and without the stimulus of her Highland tour, Bonheur's career might have taken a very different path.

NOTES

- 1 Her masterpiece of Naturalism, *Ploughing in the Nivernais* (Musée d'Orsay, Paris) had been commissioned by the French State in 1848.
- 2 J. Maas, *Gambart, Prince of the Victorian Art World*, London 1975, p.75. On Gambart, see most recently P. Fletcher, 'Creating the French Gallery: Ernest Gambart and the Rise of the Commercial Gallery in Mid-Victorian London', *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, Vol.6, no.1, Spring 2007, <http://19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/spring07/143-creating-the-french-gallery-ernest-gambart-and-the-rise-of-the-commercial-art-gallery-in-mid-victorian-london> [accessed 12 October 2012]. See also P. Fletcher, 'Shopping for Art: the Rise of the Commercial Art Gallery, 1850s–90s', in P. Fletcher and A. Helmreich (eds), *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939*, Manchester 2011, pp.47–64.
- 3 The most comprehensive recent publications on Bonheur include D. Ashton, *Rosa Bonheur: A Life and a Legend*, London 1981; F. Ribemont, *Rosa Bonheur 1822–1899*, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Bordeaux 1997; and G. Weisberg, *All Nature's Children*, Dahesh Museum, New York 1998.
- 4 He also suggested that Bonheur might like to supervise the engraving of *The Horse Fair* by Thomas Landseer. See A. Klumpke, *Rosa Bonheur: sa vie, son oeuvre* (Paris 1908), trans. G. van Slyke, University of Michigan Press 2001, p.152.
- 5 *Journals and Correspondence of Lady Eastlake*, Vol.2, 1895, pp.41–4, cited in Maas (n.2), p.74. On the following day, 17 July, another small party was held in her honour and Gambart introduced her to a series of important guests, while – unable to speak English – she sat in silence on an ottoman in the centre of the room.
- 6 *Journals and Correspondence of Lady Eastlake*, pp.43–4, cited in Maas (n.2), p.74.
- 7 *Journals and Correspondence of Lady Eastlake*, pp.41–4, cited in Maas (n.2), p.74.
- 8 J. Forbes-Robertson, 'Rosa Bonheur', *Magazine of Art*, Vol.5, 1882, p.49.
- 9 On 5 September 1855, the day before the picture was due to leave London, Queen Victoria asked for a private viewing at Windsor Castle. A great admirer of Landseer, she was intrigued by Bonheur, but in the end she declined to buy, possibly because the picture lacked the sentimental appeal of Landseer's highland scenes.
- 10 'First exhibition of the French School of the Fine Arts in Glasgow including Maddle Rosa Bonheur's Great Picture The "Horse Fair" at the Gallery, 119 St Vincent Street Glasgow, commencing on Wednesday 12th September', *Glasgow Herald*, Monday, 10 September, 1855. The private view was held on 11 September, 1–6pm.
- 11 *Glasgow Herald*, Friday, October 12, 1855. It was announced that 'Mr Finlay has arranged for publication of an engraving after *The Horse Fair* by Mr Thomas Landseer'. It was of course Gambart who had the rights to the engraving, which Landseer produced later the following year.
- 12 *Glasgow Herald*, Friday, 23 January 1857.
- 13 Where it was on show at the German Gallery in Bond Street. See *Art Journal*, n.s. Vol.3, 1 August 1857, p.262.
- 14 It seems likely that Finlay had identified a potential buyer who had demanded to view the painting at first hand. Nevertheless the painting failed to sell and in the end it was an American, William Wright, who was to become its second owner.
- 15 Maas (n.2), pp.81–7; F. Goodall, *The Reminiscences of Frederick Goodall, R.A.*, London & Newcastle-on-Tyne 1902; Klumpke (n.4); T. Stanton (ed.), *Reminiscences of Rosa Bonheur*, London 1910.
- 16 Klumpke (n.4), p.152.
- 17 She even claimed on one occasion that it was 'Sir Walter's ardent love for animals [that] drew me more closely to him and even increased my fondness for the dumb world, if this were possible.' Stanton (n.15), p.20.
- 18 Katherine Haldane Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770–1914*, Aldershot 2005, p.64.
- 19 Gambart & Co. published a lithograph of Maclise by Charles Baugnet in 1857.
- 20 Grenier (n.18), p.70.
- 21 Klumpke (n.4), p.155.
- 22 Klumpke (n.4), p.156.
- 23 Goodall (n.15), p.129.
- 24 Obituary, *The Falkirk Herald*, 23 May 1896.
- 25 In 1862 Bonheur acquired the Château de By, near Fontainebleau, where she kept dogs, Icelandic ponies, deer, gazelles, monkeys, cattle, sheep, yak, boar and a lion.
- 26 Letter to Auguste Bonheur, 1856, in Stanton (n.15), pp.134–5.
- 27 Letter from Edinburgh, 7 September 1856, in Klumpke (n.4), p.157.
- 28 Klumpke (n.4), p.158.
- 29 Goodall (n.15), p.128.
- 30 According to Goodall (n.15), p.128, it was Gambart who footed the bill. The animals were shipped to the rectory at Wexham.
- 31 Klumpke (n.4), p.158.
- 32 This work was also engraved by Thomas Landseer.
- 33 *Scotsman*, 12 March 1859. The picture was later acquired by William Wilson, who lent it to the Royal Scottish Academy in 1868.
- 34 According to Goodall (n.15), p.127, 'Rosa Bonheur was delighted with Arran'. They spent several days there, during which Bonheur climbed Goatfell.

- 35 Letter to Auguste Bonheur, 1856, in Stanton (n.15), pp.134-5.
- 36 Stanton (n.15), p.xii.
- 37 The watercolour version of the *Highland Shepherd* is in Bury Art Gallery and Museum; *Changing Pasture*, now entitled *Rowing Boat*, is in the Hamburger Kunsthalle and the watercolour, known by its original title, is in Aberdeen Art Gallery.
- 38 *The Athenaeum*, no.1701, 2 June 1860, p.762.
- 39 *The Athenaeum*, no.1701, 2 June 1860, p.762. The exhibition also included *The Highland Shepherd* (1859) and *Denizens of the Highlands* (1858).
- 40 Graham lived at Skelmorlie Castle in Ayrshire and had an important collection of British and some European 19th-century paintings, some of which were displayed in the centre room of the Glasgow Fine Art Loan Exhibition at the Corporation Galleries, Sauchiehall Street, in May–July 1878. The collection included works by J.M.W. Turner, William Etty, Ary Scheffer, John Linnell, William Holman Hunt, David Roberts, Sir Daniel Macnee, Patrick Nasmyth, Frederick Goodall and Sir Edwin Landseer, as well as Rosa Bonheur. See n.49.
- 41 See H. Lafont-Couturier, 'The Dissemination of Rosa Bonheur's Work by the House of Goupil', in Weisberg (n.3), pp.51-61.
- 42 *Glasgow Herald*, 23 January 1857.
- 43 *Athenaeum*, no.1701, 2 June 1860, p.762.
- 44 J. Forbes-Robertson (n.8), p.50.
- 45 'The Late Mr Alexander Hill', *Scotsman*, 16 June 1866, p.2.
- 46 John Ruskin, 'French Exhibition', *Academy Notes* (1858) in E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (eds), *The Works of John Ruskin*, Vol.14, London 1904, p.173.
- 47 They were both partners in the Coltness Iron Foundry in Wishaw. Thomas Houldsworth lent *A Quiet Time* to the Royal Glasgow Institute in 1876 (cat. no.28). James Houldsworth of Coltness House, Cambuskenneth, lent *Donkey in a Stable* to the 1878 Glasgow Fine Art Loan Exhibition (cat. no.254 – see also nn.40 and 49).
- 48 On Sandeman, see F. Fowle, *Impressionism and Scotland*, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh 2008, p.135.
- 49 This work was included in the 1878 Glasgow Fine Art Loan Exhibition and described as follows: 'Clear blue sky. A few specks of white cloud and a low bank of grey on the horizon. A grassy hill-top, on which a flock of sheep lie down, all but two in immediate foreground, one of which stands facing and the other stands with its back turned to the spectator.' See *Official Catalogue of the Glasgow Fine Art Loan Exhibition in aid of the Funds of the Royal Infirmary, held in the Corporation Galleries, Sauchiehall Street: with Descriptive and Biographical Notes by a Member of the Acting Committee, May, June, July, 1878*, Glasgow 1878, no.10, p.3. On Duncan, see A. Watson, *James Duncan: An Enlightened Victorian*, Edinburgh 2010. For Bonheur's visit to Duncan's estate, see Watson's article in this volume, p.52.
- 50 For further information on the 1878 Glasgow Fine Art Loan Exhibition see Fowle (n.48), p.23.
- 51 In May 1888, for example, *Denizens of the Highlands*, which had been engraved by Thomas Landseer in 1860, sold at auction for the record price of 5,550 guineas. See *Art Journal* 1888, p.342.
- 52 *Glasgow Herald*, 28 February 1876.